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name of the child of the one he is addressing. In discussing anyone, great care is taken to say nothing critical or abusive concerning him before his parents or his children. One man told of a series of fights he initiated by uttering the remark, "Your father is messy around the ankles." He knew very well in advance what the consequences of that observation would be. In a Coyote story the trickster, after being skinned and jeered at for having a "red shirt," retaliates against his tormentors by shouting, "It's your father who has a red shirt!"

Despite the affection and regard which mark the parent-child relationship, it must not be forgotten that discipline and authority are the prerogatives of the father and mother. The daughter, especially, is conditioned to lifelong obedience to parental edicts.

Four terms, the equivalents of father, mother, son, and daughter, serve to express the parent-child relationship. The term for father can refer to no one else. The mother, likewise, is distinguished from her siblings. The parent-child terms differ from others of the kinship system in two particulars. First, they are not self-reciprocal; that is, the same term that is addressed to the son by the father cannot mean father when the son is speaking. Second, each term expresses one relationship only and is not extended to include collateral relatives.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece relationships.—Of tremendous importance in the child's life are the maternal uncle and aunt. The mother's sister is likely to be present at the child's birth. She may volunteer to nurse the baby if she has milk and the mother has not enough. She is a permanent member of the mother's extended domestic family. A girl will have intimate contact with this relative throughout life; a boy, at least until his marriage and departure from the encampment. In case the mother dies, this woman may be called upon to adopt or care for her sister's children. She may elect to marry their widowed father[11] and so become their stepmother. Or, since sororal polygyny is practiced, if she is younger than her sister, she may become the second wife of her sister's husband and, by a different route, attain the

[11] See pp. 421–25.

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[604] position of stepmother to these youngsters.[11] Her very closeness
[587] to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked to-
[595] gether since childhood, establishes her interest in the develop-
ment of her sister's children. The chances are that she will per-
[431] form protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them
[574] food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home,
and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

[881] At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give gen-
[584] erously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to
marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who
passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the
dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may
[583] furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her
household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his
[868] bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the in-
struction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficien-
cy. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants,
it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her
sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

[591] Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the
mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic
family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than
the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the
individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the
[574] child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encamp-
ment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home.
[596] At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved
[602] acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of
avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer
[851] bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking.
Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among
his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest
touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[601] [11] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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There is a good deal of restraint 604 between the mother and her brother, for siblings of opposite sex, 593 especially after puberty, must show great respect and decorum when they are together. Consequently, the maternal uncle best [834] shows his affection toward his sister by the interest he takes in her children. There is frequent reference to his instruction of his sister's child, especially of her son, to his economic help at many of the crises, and to his constant friendly contact with his nieces and nephews. There is always the possibility that the mother's brother will marry an unrelated woman from the same local group in which he has grown up and will continue to live near his blood relatives.

Mother's siblings are addressed by one term, a self-reciprocal. 601 Thus the mother's brother, the mother's sister, the sister's son, 604 and the sister's daughter are all subsumed under the same kinship term. In a secondary sense this term may be addressed to other relatives, to any cousin of the mother, no matter how distantly related, and reciprocally to any female cousin's child.

In normal circumstances the father's sisters and brothers will 604 never be members of the same extended family as the child, though they may be living in the same local group or vicinity. [596] Since their primary ties are with other family units, they have less contact with a child than the maternal relatives. In spite of this, they demonstrate a lively interest in him. This is particularly true of the father's brother. As long as brothers inhabit the [593] same camp they are inseparable, and their interest in each other and in the family line does not cease at marriage. Brother's children are blood kin, and such kinship imposes a solidarity which cannot be denied. "H. is my brother's daughter. No matter how far away she is, if I am sick she comes and helps around camp. But I have helped her as much as she has helped me. I feel that those related in this way should show a lifelong faithfulness to each other in any emergency and all the time."

The fate of brothers is further linked by a levirate arrange 593 ment which entitles an unmarried man to take his deceased 587 brother's wife and place if he and his relatives so decide. This 604 means that a man may in time become the stepfather of his

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brother's children.[13] At all the significant occasions when the maternal relatives offer personal or economic assistance the father's brother contributes also.

The father's sister normally has a family and duties of her own, her brother has passed from the extended family to which she is attached, and the sororate-levirate forms can have no effect upon her future position in respect to her brother's offspring. But the restraint relationship which has existed between this woman and her brother implies lifelong consideration. No better way of responding to this exists than generosity toward the brother's children. Moreover, a man who is in difficulty with his affinal relatives, angered over his wife's behavior, or divorced is likely to return to the extended family in which he was reared. His sister is one of the members of this social group, and her counsel is of great moment in the formation of decisions. These strong ties of consanguinity are felt by the woman to include her brother's children as well.

One term means father's brother and father's sister and is extended in use to include father's cousins, male and female. The same term, used as a self-reciprocal, designates a brother's child and, in an extended sense, a male cousin's child.

Brother-sister and cousin relationships.—The terminology employed to express the sibling, cousin relationship departs in principle from other sets. There are two self-reciprocal terms in use, but, unlike the other kinship terms, they imply sex difference or similarity between the speaker and the person addressed. *Šikis* literally signifies "sibling or cousin of the same sex as myself," and *šilah* carries the force of "sibling or cousin of the opposite sex from myself." Thus, when a woman says *šikis*, she is speaking of a sister or female cousin; when a man uses the same term, he has in mind a brother or a male cousin. Conversely, when a man says *šilah*, he is referring to a sister or a female cousin, and when a woman employs the same term, she is indicating a brother or a male cousin. The *šikis* term can be said to link relatives of the

[13] In that case a stepfather-stepchild term may be substituted for the father's sibling term (see n. 12, p. 56).

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same generation and sex; the *šilah* term, relatives of the same generation but of opposite sex.

From the comments and practices of his elders the child soon discovers that his *šikis* is designed to be his companion in experience and adventure, his confidant, his defender against misrepresentation or direct attack. The everyday stream of events steadily contributes to his conception of how two brothers or two sisters should act toward each other. His own mother and her sister sit and sew or go after fruit or mescal plants together. His father and his father's brother often act together in matters of raid or warfare. When the extended family is foraging or camping by itself, the children who are thrown together in play, in story-telling sessions, and in training are necessarily brothers, sisters, and cousins. Because of the sexual division in industry and social life, the child is often left with his *šikis* as the available partner for play. The close identification of *šikis* persists throughout life. This fact makes reasonable the sororate-levirate institution. If anyone is wronged or murdered, it is likely to be his *šikis* who demand retaliation.

Quite different is the *šilah* relationship. Everyone is expected to be slightly reserved to all relatives of the opposite sex, whatever their age. Not even the father and his young daughters escape this feeling: "I still kiss my daughter [age six], but I doubt that I will when she is ten, and of course not after she has reached the age of puberty." This restraint becomes heightened between relatives of opposite sex of the same generation.

Brother and sister are so carefully trained to be reserved when they are together that any inclinations to exhibit overt sexual interest in each other are almost certain to be repressed. There is the possibility, however, that young men and women more distantly related will meet and become intimate. The term *šilah* stands as a barrier against this, for a female cousin is terminologically classified by a young man with his sister and is just as forbidden to him. Very often the precise relationship is difficult to trace, but, if the young man knows that either of his parents addressed one of the girl's parents as *šikis* or *šilah*, his attentions to that girl are illicit.

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could provide a real home for him. Often they talk of foolish young people who don't think of practical things when they marry. 581

Sometimes the parents of the boy and girl arrange the match and only tell the principals when all arrangements are made. If a man is industrious, he has more chance to get a match, and the same is true for the girls. Some very ugly Indian men have gotten beautiful girls, not because the girls wanted them, but because the parents of the girl recognized their industry and insisted on the marriage. Old men who are rich sometimes marry very young girls in this way. 581 584

Often the prospective husband thoughtfully contemplates not only the young lady but the affinities to whom he will be so closely bound if he marries her:

Before marriage a man looks at the parents of the girl, at her industry, sees how strong and able to bear children she is, how congenial and sweet she is, and he decides on these grounds. Beauty of face is of little account. Industriousness is most important probably, but if a woman is mean and cranky a man would never have her, even if she was a good worker.

As might be expected from the important part that settled elders play in marriage arrangements, the decisions arrived at do not always conform to the wishes of the young people:

In one way of arranging it, the children are just matched up by the parents and relatives when they reach marriageable age. The two families might be friendly. When they tell the girl, sometimes she may not want to marry the man chosen for her. Sometimes they appeal to her or otherwise influence her against her will. As for the boy, maybe he knows the girl, maybe not. Perhaps he has never spoken to her but has seen her only at a distance.

It's not so easy as we've been making out. Sometimes a girl will run off rather than marry a man. Some girls are forced into marriage.

Girls are married to men many years older than they are sometimes, because their parents match them to wealthy persons. And some younger men marry rich widows. I notice that the older person is inclined to be very jealous in these cases. [587]

This does not mean that true love matches are unknown, but such unions receive scant sympathy, especially when they turn out badly: 581

F. is a good example of a woman who went crazy over a man and still is that way. She can take more abuse than any woman I ever saw. Her husband has never done any work and never will. There's no chance of his making good. But she married him. Look how he has treated her! But she is wild about him right now. If it wasn't for her family, she'd be back with him now.

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too. 606 586

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband. 602 606 586

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations. [581] [182] [587]

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on. [178]

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[3] 607 606

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop [195]

[3] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62. [605]

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602 606 [195] polite form at this time. You can say anything you want in polite form. This may occur at a birth, when a woman labors so hard that some man who knows how to take care of her is needed. Then they overlook it.

Obligatory avoidances cannot be permanently ended while the woman because of whom the relationship was established is still alive. Even where avoidance was optional, "almost always the woman whose marriage had started the relationship would be asked first and her approval gained if she were still alive."

A man might have bad luck. One after another of his relatives might die. There might be a certain relative whom he avoids, but who he thinks might give him good advice and encouragement if he could talk matters over with him. So he tells his wife that he does not want to avoid her relative any more. If she thinks it is all right, he rolls a cigarette, takes a few puffs on it, and sends it to the relative with word that, after this, they should not hide from each other. If the relative takes the cigarette and smokes it too, it is all over, and they do not hide from each other after that.

The first move may come from either affinal relative:

There was an equal right for either the husband or the woman's relative to roll and send the cigarette. A man might say to his wife: "I no longer want to avoid your brother. I want to be with him and go with him and speak with him." If his wife approved, he would have her take over the cigarette. When the avoidance is broken off like this we say, "It has become again that one goes to him."

[276] Cigarettes offered in this fashion do not have to be accepted:

When a cigarette was offered in this way to end an avoidance relationship, it could be refused, but this refusal would never show anger on the part of the person who refused. A man might say: "We have hidden from each other all these years. All this time we have helped each other and thought well of each other. I do not think our relations would be helped by this move. I would rather hide from you for the rest of my life."

Even when avoidance is abrogated, a measure of formality is retained. "If the two who are hiding from each other smoke a cigarette like that, they don't have to hide from each other any [195] more. But they have to keep on with the polite form."

602 606 587 [586] After the death of a man's wife and his remarriage, the obligatory avoidance observances between him and relatives of his first wife may be terminated:

If the family has no more girls he can marry and a man gets permission to marry out of the family after his wife's death, perhaps he will not want to avoid his first wife's father any longer. In that case he will take a cigarette and go

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602 606 587

through that ceremony. This happens a good many times. It happened with S. and P. not long before S. died. That was about six months ago. P. was S.'s father-in-law. They had been hiding from each other for over forty years. Six months ago they gave each other cigarettes in this way. After that you could see them sitting together talking, just like any other two men. The same thing happened between M. and K.

606 602 578

Personality conflicts in the avoidance relationship.—In spite of the absolute standards of good will which are supposed to govern the relations between a married man and his affinities, conflicts in interests and in personalities do occur. The wife is in continuous touch with her relatives, and any indignity she suffers at the hands of her husband is immediately known to them. The husband is in an anomalous position until his standing among his wife's kin is assured, for, although he is nominally considered the head of his household, he is subject to the strict scrutiny of his wife's relatives. [592]

[579]

Irritations and resentments between affinal relatives sometimes erupt into open hostility:

R. was .... always abusing his wife. It led to a fight between him and the woman's stepfather. The stepfather was just like a bulldog. In the fight he bit R.'s finger off. He must have swallowed it, for they never found it. It was a jubilee fight, right on a moonlit night!

606 578 579

The older participant, the wife's stepfather, had never avoided his opponent. Therefore, the encounter did not involve a violation of the avoidance obligation. But in the heat of anger even that extreme breach of etiquette has been known to take place:

A man has just beaten up his mother-in-law. This man has avoided his mother-in-law and her sister. He has had trouble with his wife and has been separated from her. Now he has tried to get his wife to go on with him again. He went over to her place. Her mother was so angry at him that she came right over to the place where he was. They threw everything to the wind and began fighting. He beat her up. They won't even use polite form any more. They insulted each other and got kicked, so what's the use of polite form now? But this does not mean that the man will not continue to avoid his mother-in-law's sister. It depends on the individuals concerned. [602]

606 578

Of another mother-in-law–son-in-law breach this account was given:

One man had serious trouble with his wife and her family. His mother-in-law helped his wife throw stones at him and drive him out of camp. She saw him that

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602 195 586

on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIN

602 829

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

[592] [596]

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

602 829 596

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

[621]

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

602 621 596 [582]

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

602 621 596 582

At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *bilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

621 582 602

This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[587]

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

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Another quotation extends this information: 602 195 844

> If she is asked to start it [polite form] with the boy's brothers, she can never marry one of them. The reason given for not using polite form to the boy's mother is that his mother may be required to be at the birth of the child of her daughter-in-law, and it would not be right for her to have such intimate dealings with the girl if she used the polite form to her. At the birth of a child, no one who uses polite form to the mother is around.

Other statements explain that the collateral relatives of the husband's grandparents but not the grandparents themselves, may request polite form. 602 195 It appears that the classes of affinities that expect avoidance from the husband are the very ones which, in the woman's affinal constellation, refrain from making even the polite-form request. None of these polite-form usages is obligatory, it should be noted. This time the initiative comes from the husband's relatives. The same sets of terms are utilized; it is the young woman who is called "one who carries burdens for me" by her affinity and who calls her husband's relative "one for whom I carry burdens." [601]

Again, the usage, to be effective, must begin at once. "I could have used polite form to my cousin's wife. It's too late now. I didn't start it from the beginning. My cousin could have used the polite form to my wife, but he didn't either."

In determining whether he will make the request for polite form of the wife, each member of the husband's relationship group is guided by considerations of age, degree of past intimacy, and closeness of connection to the linking relative—the same factors operative in the man's avoidance and polite-form obligations. Polite form between the woman and her affinal relative, once started, also is supposed to continue indefinitely, regardless of the disturbance of the union by divorce or death. [586]

A woman's obligations to her affinities at marriage are slight compared with those to which her husband is subject, but their existence does serve to indicate that she owes consideration to her husband's kin and can never entirely eliminate them from her plans. Their claim upon her is most fully realized at the death of her mate when they can force her to accept a brother or a cousin of the deceased in his stead. 602 [589]

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With divorce, each person takes his own belongings without fuss and goes to his and her old home. This did not often happen. The woman has little power to stop a divorce if her husband wants one. Even if she doesn't want a divorce her husband can get up and leave. If the woman wants to leave and the man doesn't want her to, he can try to hold her by force. But she can usually get away to her parents' home. 586

Impotence as well as frigidity may be an important factor in divorce decisions: 586 833

When a man can't get an erection, it is attributed to witchcraft. If it can't be cured, this might be the real reason back of a divorce. [754]

If a woman marries an impotent man, she may stay married to him for wealth or something, but most likely they would separate.

After divorce, though a man must continue the avoidances and polite forms which his marriage brought into being, the material hold of his former wife's relatives is at an end: 586 602 606

If a man is determined to divorce his wife, or if she insists on divorcing him, the parents-in-law cannot very well stop it. All the obligations of the man to support the woman's family stop at divorce. He cannot be made to marry any sister or girl cousin of his wife at any time in the future.[5] But avoidances and polite forms go on. Both the man and the woman are free from each other and from each other's families as soon as the divorce has gone through, as soon as they have separated. They can each marry as soon as they wish again then. [595] [587]

The presence of children acts as a decided brake to divorce action. "In the old days it was pretty hard to get a divorce when there were children. It was not often done then." 586

If, in case of divorce, the mother's relatives are willing to contribute to the support of the children and the mother is willing to maintain her household, this is considered the best solution. Though there is no definite rule, there is the feeling that children should be under the care of the mother and her kin during their formative years. Babies who are not yet weaned always remain with the mother, and, in general, very young children are likely to stay with her. Sometimes older children, particularly boys, are claimed by the father. When the man can charge that the woman is at fault and has not been a fit parent, public opinion and the pressure of group leaders force acquiescence on the part of the wife and her relatives. [626]

[5] For a discussion of the sororate see pp. 421–25.

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
[556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[589] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[574] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would
[848] attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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During the dance after a war party returns, it is all right to go home with a divorced woman. This kind of marriage is permitted. But it would not be done with a girl who had never been married. This could also be done during the social dancing at the tepee ceremony. These are people who have already been courting each other and talking together. It is just a good chance to do what they intended to do anyway. 587 583

SEXUAL ABERRANCE AND PERVERSION

According to an informant, "homosexuality is forbidden. The person who does this is considered a witch and is killed." Yet there is a suggestion of the violation of the canon in another statement. "I have never heard of two men having sexual relations together. I've heard about women doing it and about boys doing it to each other, but not older men." 838

One story of Lesbianism continually goes the rounds. "They say that there were two women at Fort Sill who lived together and had sexual relations together. They say someone once heard one of them ask the other, 'Is it sticky?'" Another informant who mentioned this incident placed it in the distant past:

I never heard of male homosexuality. I have, however, heard of Lesbianism. There was a case a long time ago, and the old men used to talk about it. There were two married women who ran off from their husbands and made a camp together for themselves. The people went to their camp and heard the two women talking. One was on top of the other, and one asked the other if she felt something sticky. The answer was, "Yes."

These women were laughed at and ridiculed. I don't know what they did after they were discovered, whether they continued to live together or not. I just heard the old people talk about this long ago.

If I should see two women behaving like this, I would feel ashamed of them if they had relatives. But if the women didn't have close relatives, I wouldn't feel so ashamed of them. The difference is that the women would bring shame to their relatives. The rest of the people might think they were so hard up they couldn't be married properly.

There are a number of women who excel in activities commonly considered the interests of men. Two such women, both now very old, were mentioned by several persons, and one in particular was singled out as a deviant from the ordinary feminine behavior pattern: 156

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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595 second woman." Another commentator, however, feels that separate households for wives is the more usual state, especially in times of peace, although "sometimes in wartime they are in the same house because of the danger." In all probability adjustments are made to needs and particular situations. The size of the family and the degree of cordiality existing between wives have much to do with the determination of living arrangements.

595 554 Leadership and wealth come with years and experience; therefore, a man is not likely to take a second wife until a good many years after his first marriage. This may account, in part, for the absence of serious friction between co-wives. The older woman normally has shared her youth with her husband, has borne him children, and has attained status and a good deal of control over the family before the second wife enters the household. She often welcomes the newcomer for the assistance the arrangement will give her with the household duties. Sometimes it is at her instigation that another wife is taken. Since only leaders and wealthy men can afford to have more than one wife, polygyny is not widely practiced. No more than 20 per cent and perhaps only 10 per cent of the men would be able to undertake such responsibilities.

THE SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

587 [192] At the death of a wife or a husband, the surviving mate is spoken of as "one who has become *ica*." The word *ica* does not yield to linguistic analysis, but it has the force of "bound to" or "under the control of." Those who exercise the control are the relatives of the deceased spouse. Those to whom the surviving partner is "bound" (in the sense that they may request marriage of him or her) are the dead person's siblings and cousins of the

587 196 same sex. Of the terminological usage one informant explained: "A man shouldn't say of another man, 'He is "bound" to me.' He should say, 'He is "bound" to us,' meaning to the whole family. But a man can be 'bound' to a woman." Another said of the word: "When you say, 'She (he) becomes "bound,"' you mean that the person is a widow or widower, but is not free."

587 The substance of the sororate and levirate has been defined thus:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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A man is "bound" to his wife's sister when his wife dies. The woman has the right in the matter. She approaches the man or not as she wishes. If the wife has a sister and a cousin, and the sister does not like him but the cousin does and asks him to marry her, he is obliged to marry her as if she were the sister, and the family considers it in the same light. If no one asks him within a reasonable period of time, the man can marry anyone he wishes.

It's just the reverse if a man dies and leaves a widow. Then one of the dead husband's brothers or cousins can ask her to marry him, and she cannot refuse.

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The sororate.—As soon as a man's wife dies he becomes "bound" to his affinal relatives. Together they go into formal mourning. The attitude toward a well-liked and grief-stricken son-in-law is kindly. "After the death of his wife, a good man, in the old days, would not care for anything. He would not even care about making a living. But his wife's relatives would help him. They would see that he got the necessities." But should the widower be too light-hearted or show interest in any woman of another family, it is counted a grave affront to the departed and a serious breach of the respect owed her relatives. Those to whom the bereaved is "bound" are said to be "jealous," that is, watchful of his conduct.

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As it functions, the sororate is a device for bridging quickly, with least disadvantage to the children of the deceased and to the extended family, the gap caused by the death of a married woman:

When S.'s sister, my wife, died, he called me [by the term meaning] "bound to" his family. I couldn't have called him this. It meant that I was not free from him, that if he had any more sisters he could make me marry one. But that was all the sisters he had. Now that I'm married again, he can't call me that.

If a man's wife dies, he will marry a woman to whom he is "bound." If his wife dies, a man is "bound" to her sister, and if she has no sister, to her unmarried cousins. If the dead woman has two unmarried sisters, he might be asked to marry either. The word *ica* means "belonging to."[1] In this case, where his wife has died, the man is "bound." He is not exactly forced to marry the woman to whom he "belongs," but her family wouldn't like it if he refused. They couldn't do much about it though. He would just violate that rule.

If a man is "bound" to a woman, it's up to her to act and show what she intends to do. He must not speak to her first about it, for he belongs to her, and it's her right. After a while she would come to him if she felt like it and say,

[1] While this informant's suggestion is good, it seems to me that "bound" or "bound to" is a closer approximation to the meaning of the term.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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587 602 "Now you are 'bound to me.' If you are willing, we will get married." She would come to him personally. Then there would be no presents, no wait, no feast; they just begin living together.

But if she lets several years pass without asking him, it would be a sign that she does not want to marry him. In this case, he knows that they are willing to let him go, to let him marry outside that family.

The man usually goes and asks permission of his dead wife's family if he wants to marry out of it. Even if his dead wife's people have no more girls and he wants to marry again, he will have to let her parents know what he wants to do as a matter of courtesy.

The family of the dead woman cannot force the man to marry anyone other than a relative of his former mate, however:

If the dead wife has no sister, the man may be forced by his in-laws to marry whom they say, and he won't object as long as it is a relative of his wife. But if they have no relatives for him to marry and they suggest another girl, he isn't bound to obey.[9]

If there are two sisters of the dead wife left and they both want him, he takes the one he pleases. He practically always takes the older though. But it's the woman who has the say; if she objects to the man, he doesn't marry her, of course.

The degree of control which the family of the deceased exercises is further explained in another statement:

If the widower has nobody to stand up for his rights, his in-laws can make it tough for him and see that he can't marry anybody else if he won't marry his [586] sister-in-law. He might marry her, however, and if they don't get along, they can divorce—and that is the man's chance to get free.

[768] When a man's wife dies, the children usually go to a female relative of the wife to be cared for. Later, if the man marries again out of the family, he can get his children back. But if he marries out of the family, he can't get married again until a year or two after his wife has died. It depends on how soon her relatives will let him marry again. If you marry out of that family, you have to wait a long time. If a man loved his wife, he wouldn't want to remarry for a long time anyway. Only a bad one, a low-down cuss who was not brought up right, would remarry soon.

587 602 765 The long mourning and waiting period which must elapse before a man may marry someone who is not a relative of his first wife is again emphasized in another comment:

[597] [9] But a sister by adoption may be considered a blood relative for these purposes: "If a girl adopted into a family has a 'sister,' at her death her husband would be 'bound' to this sister."

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If a man whose dead wife has no eligible sisters or cousins marries outside the family too soon, his former wife's family resent it and call him down for it. This is thought to be very disrespectful to the dead and is considered very serious. He can't do anything like this before a year of mourning has passed. Often it is two years before he can get permission.

Soon after his wife's death a widower was approached concerning matrimony by an alien woman. In his own words:

I changed the subject as quickly as I could. It was only a short time after my wife's death, and I knew that I couldn't marry then, for my dead wife's family would take it as an insult. . . . . Then I told her, "Maybe I could think about such a thing later on. But here my wife has been dead only a little while, and her relatives would get mad at me if I married now, and then no good would come of it."

This same point is brought out in a criticism of a book purporting to be a life-history of Geronimo:

I know that there are lots of things in that book that Geronimo wouldn't like. For instance, he [the author] says that Geronimo married again a few months after the death of his first wife. Geronimo did not marry a sister or relative of his first wife; therefore, he could not have remarried that soon. The Chiricahua simply do not do that. I know that Geronimo didn't marry until long after the death of his first wife. The only way an Apache can marry again pretty quickly is if he marries one he is "bound to." But if he marries an outsider right after his wife's death, they sure criticize him!

Look at R. His wife died. He then married his wife's sister. He married about four or five months after his wife's death. No one thought anything against it. But if he had married that soon outside the family, they would have thought it was awful. After his first wife died he stayed camped near his mother-in-law. The mother-in-law and his present wife took care of the children after their mother died. Now the family goes right on. That's what this way of doing things is for.

The last part of this quotation introduces a significant point—the shortening of the mourning period to facilitate the remarriage of a man to a member of his deceased wife's family:

The dead woman's sisters talk over who should take the children, if there are any. If one is unmarried and wants the man, she marries him and takes the children. If a woman dies and leaves a widower, the dead woman's sister is supposed to ask the man to marry her. They marry in less than a month sometimes, though they might wait as long as a year. But some people don't wait long after the death of a brother or sister. This is all right if they marry the mate of the dead person.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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587 595 The sororate does not become operative when one of a man's co-wives dies, even though the two women were not sisters. It is then considered that a man's obligations are to his surviving wife and her relatives:

N. was an Eastern Chiricahua. He had two wives. One died. The one who died had sisters, but they had no claim on him, because he had one wife left. He lived with this one wife until she died. This last woman had no sisters, so he lived on single for many years before he died. The "bound to" relationship does not apply when a man has more than one wife.

587 602 Theoretically, a bereaved man is supposed to accede without dispute to the wishes of those to whom he is "bound." But actually he or his relatives may resist these dictates, and, if his case is a good one, he succeeds in gaining his freedom:

If they offer me my sister-in-law after my wife's death and I don't like her, I do not go to my wife's family myself but I get a relative of mine whom I trust. I say to him, "My brother, my mother-in-law wants to give me her daughter, and you know what kind of a girl she is! Her sister was a very different sort of woman. I had a good home with her and I worked well. But with this girl it would be different. She would make trouble for me and perhaps I would make trouble for her. She runs around with men and doesn't work hard."

Then my friend will go to my mother-in-law's house and bring back word from her. If the old lady is convinced, she will say, "My son-in-law lived well with my daughter and we like him. This other daughter is not the right kind for him. He is sensible and is doing right. We would be glad to keep him in the family, but I don't blame him at all. I leave it to him." Then I am free to marry as I want to.

Just as often the man is willing enough to marry his wife's relative but waits in vain for the summons:

D. was married to T.'s oldest girl. This woman died. He wanted then to marry another girl of the family, the sister next in age to his dead wife. The old folks wanted to arrange it that way, for it was according to the old customs and D. was "bound to" them. But the girl didn't want to. This girl is dead now. There were no other daughters old enough. She considered him too old and ugly, I guess. The girl thought she could do better by passing up that old custom. It was up to them to give him a girl or to free him. The old people didn't want to force the girl, so they had to let him go.

So important is the sororate that it may override any restraints which avoidance or polite form has imposed:

If the wife's sister or girl cousin avoids a man and at the death of his wife she wishes to marry him, she could roll a cigarette, take a few puffs on it, and send it

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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to him by a messenger with the words that after that they would not have to be ashamed before each other. If the man accepts the cigarette, he no longer has to avoid her and is free to marry her. 587 602

If she has not been avoiding him but was just using polite form to him, she could offer the cigarette herself, saying that thereafter the polite form would not be necessary. If he accepts it, all would be as before. [195]

Even when the family to which a man is "bound" has no girl to offer in place of the deceased, the man must act with the greatest of respect until he is formally freed:

If his father-in-law has no more daughters, the husband will want to marry out of the family after a while. He will say, "I am young and I wish to marry. I respect you and your family, but you have no more daughters for me." He has to get permission to marry out. If the old man refuses permission, even if he has no more daughters, the young man will have to obey. The old man, the father-in-law, is the boss. When the young man gets permission he goes off to another encampment and marries there. [606]

An excellent example of the spirit in which an understanding is reached and of the speeches that pass back and forth before the widower regains his freedom of action is provided in this account:

If, after my wife's death, my mother-in-law has any more daughters and she likes me, she will send one of them, and I'll marry her. But if she has only sons, and finally I feel that there is some other woman I want to marry, I talk to my brother-in-law, if he is old enough, and I say, "I have had a hard time, but now I want to marry again. You have no other girls for me to marry, and now I am ready to marry again."

Then he will go and tell his mother, and the next day he will come back and say, "What has happened has happened. It can't be helped. If we had anybody to give you, we'd give you a woman. You have been good to us, and we hate to have you part from us, but there is no help for it. We hope you will get a good girl and be happy." After this you are not under obligation to your mother-in-law.

The levirate.—The existence of the levirate does not give a man any extraordinary privileges with the wife of his brother or male cousin while these relatives are still alive: 587 607 605

In the right way a man is supposed to have great respect for his cousin's wife. You should leave your brother's wife alone and your cousin's wife alone too. They call you a witch if you do otherwise. Only when people get very old do they joke a little when they are related like this—people of R.'s age [sixty-five to seventy] might, but never the young people.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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587 607 605 If a married man dies, however, his widow becomes "bound" to his family and particularly to his brothers and male cousins:

The woman then "belongs to" the dead man's brothers or cousins. She would be "bound" to them. The woman cannot marry for a long time after her husband dies, except to one of his relatives. But if none of them asks her to marry within a couple of years after the death, it is a sign that none of them wants to marry her, and she is free to marry someone else if she has the chance.

587 602 Even though the woman remains among her own relatives after her bereavement, cares for her children as usual, and need not have much direct contact with her former husband's kin, she owes them obedience and courtesy. If she fails in this obligation, they are not slow to show resentment:

G. married a Chiricahua man. She was a Chiricahua herself. Her husband died, and she was, therefore, "bound" to her husband's family. They did not have an available man for her. T., the only possibility, was already married. So she married a Mescalero Apache. She went around saying some pretty mean things about the family to which she was "bound." T. got pretty mad and said he was going over there and slit her nose.

This illustrates the point that a woman is directly responsible to her dead husband's family. A woman who went around with someone to whom she was not "bound" might have her nose cut. It was the right of the dead man's family to dispose of her and watch her conduct. Any of them can warn her of her conduct. If the husband has no brothers, a cousin will marry her. The age of the [605] cousin does not matter. The oldest one does not necessarily marry her. Choice is what counts.

Should the widow's relatives-in-law choose for her a man she does not like, she and her kin must convince them that the marriage would be unwise. If the woman has been an unworthy wife, if none of the brothers or cousins of the deceased is interested in her, or if the dead man's relatives feel that her family was too harsh to him, the group to whom the widow is "bound" reject her.

There is the case of a single man whose married brother died. Then the dead man's wife was "bound" to him. She wanted to marry him all right, but he didn't want her. She waited a number of years, but he wouldn't have her. He knew she wanted him. People used to kid him about it. We would say, "Now she is 'bound' to you, why don't you go and marry that woman?" It would sure make him angry! A good many of the boys used to tease him. She finally married someone else.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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584 would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives 585 approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young 595 man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were prac- 587 ticed. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to 606 observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special 602 forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives [195] of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family 583 through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his 596 in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to 606 his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[3]

3. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).